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Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning.

HISTORICAL AND COMMEMORATIVE.

1746—1755.

THE MEMORIAL OFFICE
IN HONOR OF THE MISSIONARY MARTYRS,
WHO FELL AT GNADENHUETTEN ON THE MAHONING,
NOVEMBER 24th, 1755, CELEBRATED IN TRINITY
EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH AND
AT THE GRAVES OF THE MARTYRS AT
LEHIGHTON PA., NOV. 24th, 1905.

The Annual Meeting of the Moravian Historical Society held in the Museum and Library of the Society in the Whitefield House at Nazareth, Pa., on Tuesday, September 19th, 1905, marked the close of the 48th and the opening of the 49th year of the Society's existence.

Commenting upon the near approach of the Jubilee Anniversary of the Society, the President, Bishop J. Mortimer Levering, in welcoming the members and guests to the annual "Vesper," proceeded to call attention to a number of significant anniversaries, which fell in the year 1905, closing the recital with these words:

"Finally, among the sesqui-centennial associations of the present year, we recall that 1755 brought a heavy blow upon the flourishing work of the Moravian Church in this vicinity. It was the year in which the scourge of the French and Indian War fell upon the Lehigh Valley and other regions. The 24th of next November will be the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the melancholy destruction of the prosperous mission at Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning and the massacre of our missionaries at that place. How many have gone up to Lehighton to see the little monument which stands there to their memory?"

Before the assemblage adjourned this suggestion of the President of the Society was taken up, and on motion of the Rev. E. S. Wolle, Pastor of the Second Moravian Church in Philadelphia, it was resolved that the Executive Committee of the Society should arrange for the celebration of a proper memorial office, if possible, at the grave of the martyrs in the cemetery at Lehighton, Pa.

The history of the massacre will be found elsewhere in this pamphlet. Suffice it here to say, that after the dreadful calamity the charred and mutilated remains of the martyr missionaries, who had been shot, scalped and burned, were gathered together and interred in the God's Acre of the incipient settlement, which has since become the cemetery of the modern town of Lehighton. On December 10th, 1788, a memorial stone, laid flat after the manner of Moravian graves, was placed upon the spot, with this inscription:

"To the Memory of
 Gottlieb and Christina Anders
 with their child, Johanna;
 Martin and Susanna Nitschmann;
 Anna Catharina Sensemann;
 Leonhard Gattermeyer;
 Christian Fabricius, clerk;
 George Schweigert; John Frederick
 Lesly and Martin Presser,
 who lived in Gnadenhuetten
 unto the Lord,
 and lost their lives in a surprise
 from Indian warriors,
 November 24th, 1755.
 Precious in the sight of the Lord
 is the death of His saints."

Through the efforts of Joseph Leibert, of Bethlehem, whose wife was a granddaughter of Martin and Susanna Nitschmann, on August 7th, 1848, another monument was erected at the head of this slab. The whole lot is enclosed with a neat guard-rail, and the cemetery authorities evidently take pleasure in keeping it in good order. The presence of a marker of the Grand Army of the Republic on the lot would seem to indicate that this burial place of the soldiers of the Cross is decked with flowers on each Memorial Day together with the soldiers of the nation.

It was at this spot, that it was desired to celebrate a memorial office on the 150th anniversary of the destruction of Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning, a small stream that flows into the Lehigh River at the present town of Lehighton. Lehighton is 31 miles up the river, north-west from Bethlehem, Pa.

However, owing to the uncertainty of the weather at the end of November, it was deemed wiser to conduct the chief exercises

under cover. Through the fraternal kindness of the proper authorities of the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church of Lehighton, their house of worship was secured for this purpose.

The Executive Committee of the Moravian Historical Society was scarcely prepared for the enthusiasm with which the suggestion of this celebration was taken up locally. An energetic local committee was appointed, consisting of the following gentlemen from Lehighton, Weissport and Mauch Chunk: District Attorney George E. Gray, Clarence S. Weiss, N. M. Balliet, the Hon. W. F. Biery, Dr. W. W. Reber, James I. Blakslee, Jr., John Seaboldt, G. W. Morthimer and Dr. B. S. Erwin. The arrangements made by them excited the admiration of the members of the Historical Society, especially as they had but very short notice that the celebration would actually take place. Both in Rex's jewelry store and in A. F. Diefenderfer's store an exhibition of a large number of colonial relics of the early settlements of the neighborhood had been arranged.

Could it have been known in advance what a beautiful Indian Summer day would be vouchsafed the celebration, it might easily have been held altogether at the cemetery, and that would have been well, as not even a fifth of the vast throng that gathered could be accommodated within the church. About sixty members of the Society attended the service, and for them seats had been reserved.

A printed Order of Service had been prepared by Bishop Levering, the hymns being taken for the most part from the regular Memorial Office in Honor of the Martyrs, the Easter Morning Service, and the Burial Liturgy of the Moravian Church. The Rev. Henry A. Jacobson, M.A., of Bethlehem, Pa., a member of the Executive Committee, presided at the organ. The services both in the church and at the grave were conducted by the President of the Society, Bishop Levering, of Bethlehem, Pa., likewise President of the Executive Board of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America.

After the singing of the opening hymn

"Come let us join our friends above,
That have obtained the prize."

words of salutation were spoken by the pastor of the church, the Rev. John H. Kuder, setting forth the significance of the oc-

casation, and the joy of his people and himself in opening their church for such a purpose. Bishop Levering responded with apt words of acknowledgement, whereupon was sung the hymn,

"The Son of God goes forth to war
A kingly crown to gain,"

after which Revelation 7:9-17 was read as the Scripture Lesson by the Rev. E. S. Wolle, pastor of the Second Moravian Church in Philadelphia.

Again the vast congregation, which crowded every available space in the church, joined in singing the highly significant hymn:

"Triumphant martyrs! ye did fight,
And fighting ye did fall,"

and then Bishop Levering introduced the speaker of the occasion, selected by the President of the Society for eminently appropriate reasons, apart from his well known ability to handle such themes as the present occasion demanded, for, as the President pointed out, the speaker was a lineal descendant of one of the martyred missionaries. His grandmother, Rebecca Nitschmann Leibert, was a granddaughter of Martin Nitschmann, the first missionary to fall when the murderous attack was made upon the mission house. Furthermore he linked the past with the present, for when the mission work of Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning was destroyed a new mission for the Indians was founded under the same name of Gnadenhuetten on the Tuscarawas in Ohio. This mission, alas, likewise went down in fire and blood even more horribly than that on the Mahoning, for, in this case, cruel whites, blinded by unreasoning prejudice, butchered in cold blood the Indian converts. But now a new Gnadenhuetten has arisen amid those scenes and is the largest Moravian Church in Ohio, and the speaker is the pastor of the John Heckewelder Memorial Church in Gnadenhuetten, Ohio.

Thus introduced, the Rev. William Henry Rice, D.D., began his address by explaining that he could be the descendant of the martyred missionaries, because their children were being taken care of in the home settlement, while the parents were doing missionary work on the frontier.

His eloquent address appears elsewhere in this pamphlet, so that it would be superfluous to attempt a synopsis of it here. He held the closest attention of all as he sketched the causes which led to the massacre, characterized the devotion of the missionaries, emphasized their vicarious death, and drew patent lessons of their lives and deaths and applied them with telling force to the hearts of his auditors.

Immediately after the close of the memorial address, prayer was offered by the Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, of Bethlehem, Pa., Secretary of Missions of the Moravian Church in America.

The doxology

"Then praise we God the Father
And praise we God the Son,"

was sung, and the Old Testament benediction pronounced by the pastor, the Rev. John H. Kuder.

As the great congregation reverently and orderly filed out of the church, the organist, the Rev. Henry A. Jacobson, played Spohr's "Blest are the departed."

For the march to the grave of the martyrs in the cemetery the procession was formed as follows:

1. The Local Committee.
2. The Visiting and Local Clergy.
3. The Descendants of the Missionaries.
4. The other Members of the Moravian Historical Society.
5. The Lehigh Cornet Band.
6. The Public School Children of Lehigh and Weissport.
7. The Citizens of Lehigh and Neighboring Towns.

As the procession moved from the church all the bells of Lehigh and Weissport were tolled until the cemetery was reached, and it had been arranged that the bells of all the Protestant Churches in Carbon County should be tolled at this hour, half past three in the afternoon.

The band played "Onward Christian Soldiers" until the gates of the cemetery, beautifully draped with the national flag, were entered, when it changed to a solemn and appropriate dirge.

When the historic spot was reached a sight met the eyes of the visitors that moved them deeply. The monument was enwreathed with graceful festoons of smilax intertwined with

costly and exquisite roses. Around the base were artistically grouped potted palms. The flat slab was framed with beautiful chrysanthemums. All these flowers, as well as the beautiful decorations in the church, were presented as a gift of love by the florist, Paul Niehoff, of Lehighton, whose grandmother was a Nitschmann from Moravia.

As the procession approached the grave the ranks were opened to permit the school children, *nine hundred strong*, to march round the plot. Each one was provided with a carnation, sprig of evergreen, or flower of some kind, which was cast upon the mound as the bearer passed by, until the plot was covered with these tokens of loving remembrance. This was a most happily conceived and very impressive part of the ceremony, for which the credit is due the local committee. This is true of all the local arrangements.

The exercises at the grave were opened by singing the hymn from the Moravian Easter Morning Litany,

"The graves of all His saints Christ blest,"

and then the appropriate portions of the Moravian Burial Litany were prayed by the Rev. Morris W. Leibert, D.D., of New York City, Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, the congregation responding.

Another hymn from the Easter Morning Litany,

"These through fiery trials trod,"

was sung, and then, in response to the urgent request presented in the name of the many who could not find place in the church, the Rev. William Henry Rice, D.D., made some supplemental remarks. He read from the original German Diary, in which some of the martyrs were characterized, and emphasized the willingness of these noble men to serve in any and every capacity, interpreting all service of their fellowmen, however lowly, as service of the Lord.

Bishop Levering prayed the concluding portion of the Litany and pronounced the New Testament benediction, after the congregation had sung

"The Saviour's blood and righteousness
My beauty is, my glorious dress."

As the multitude dispersed, the band played "Nearer my God to Thee," then once more took up the refrain of "Onward Christian Soldiers," passing over into "Come hither, ye faithful, triumphantly sing," closing with a customary march.

Thus came to an end this most impressive celebration. Everything conspired to heighten its effect. The beautiful autumnal weather; the picturesque landscape, for beautiful for situation is the Lehigh cemetery looking out over the surrounding hills; the deep interest of the people; the fervid words of the speaker; the reverent choral singing; the appropriate instrumental music; all combined to produce what surely ought to be a lasting and precious memory.

So well planned was the program, that all the exercises, scheduled to begin at 1:30 P.M., were over in time for the visitors to leave with the regular 4:18 P.M. train. Through the courtesy of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company the noon express train had been ordered to stop at Lehigh for the accommodation of those coming from Bethlehem.

The number of those in attendance at the cemetery was variously estimated at from 3000 to 5000. As the total population of Lehigh and Weissport is barely 6000, many must have come from the surrounding country.

It will be interesting to place on record the names of the descendants of the missionaries, who were present at this celebration. The only actual martyrs, that is those who were really murdered in the mission house on that fateful night, who left descendants were: Martin Nitschmann, the first one to be slain; and Ann Catherine Sensemann, who was burned in the building.

Of the direct lineal descendants of Martin Nitschmann there were present: Eugene Martin Leibert, of Nazareth, Pa.; Richard W. Leibert; Joseph M. Leibert, Jr.; Eugenia Leibert Bishop; John Leibert Bishop; Emily Leibert and Joseph A. Rice, all of Bethlehem, Pa.; and William Henry Rice, of Gnadenhuetten, Ohio.

Of the descendants of Ann Catherine Sensemann there were present: Mrs. Albert Lindermann and her daughter Alberta Lindermann, of Philadelphia, Pa.

The missionaries on the premises at the time of the massacre, who escaped, were John George and Susanna Louisa Partsch, Joseph Sturgis and Peter Worbass.

Of the descendants of John Partsch there were present: J. Samuel Krause and Harry J. Meyers, of Bethlehem, Pa., and Mary Krause Henry, of Boulton, Pa.

Of the descendants of Joseph Sturgis there were present: James Orlando Sturgis, of Lititz, Pa., and Albert Orlando Sturgis and Albert James Sturgis, of Nazareth, Pa.

Sixteen in all.

(This account was furnished by the Rev. Paul de Schweinitz.)

MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

BY THE REV. W. H. RICE, D.D.

Friends and Brethren:—You will allow me to express my appreciation of the considerate kindness which prompted the President of our Moravian Historical Society to invite me to come to Lehigh, to deliver the words of commemoration on this day, on which we have gathered to make sweet and tender memorial of the men and women of the Gnadenhuetten Indian Mission, who died the martyr's death on the dreadful Monday evening, one hundred and fifty years ago, the 24th November, 1755.

His kindly allusion to the fact of my kinship to some of the martyred heroes and heroines, prompts me to recall the fact that about fifty years ago, in the summer of 1858, it was my privilege to minister, day and night, to my maternal grandfather, Joseph Leibert, in his last illness, while at home during my college vacation. One August morning there came the stillness of death in the sick room in the home of his widowed daughter, Josephine Charlotte Leibert Rice, and he was not, for the Lord had taken his faithful disciple.

Just ten years before his departure, in August, 1848, he had seen his untiring efforts to set up a special memorial of the Gnadenhuetten martyrs, on this sacred spot, crowned with success. In these efforts he had the affectionate co-operation of his only son, the late James Leibert, that widely-known citizen of Bethlehem, who died in 1863, honored and beloved by all who knew him.

It would be a proud day for Joseph Leibert could he see the great concourse of the citizenship of Lehigh and Weissport and vicinity, paying this memorial tribute to the martyred dead of 1755.

In early manhood God gave him as wife and helpmeet, Rebecca Nitschmann, whose grandparents died here one hundred and fifty years ago. Her father was John Nitschmann, the four

years old lad, in care of the church nursery at Nazareth, when his parents were murdered.

Rebecca Nitschmann Leibert was the light and gladness of her husband's home. Cheery and zestful in her household activities, wise and resolute in her counsellings, given to hospitality, she made his house a very sanctuary of family happiness, and of Christian sympathy and helpfulness for the neighbor and the fellow-disciple. When God took her, all too soon, he ever after walked in the twilight of sorrow. The memory of her loving devotion, in after years, inspired the grateful, if laborious task, to secure a more worthy memorial of her forebears' martyrdom.

I congratulate you, members of the Moravian Historical Society, citizens of Carbon County, and friends, upon this memorial demonstration. It honors the memory of a company of plain men and women who wrought and died at their post of duty, with a heroism equal to that of the soldier who gives up his life at his post of duty.

The Gnadenhuetten Indian Mission was begun in 1746, a little more than nine years before its destruction by the hostile Indians who sympathized with the French, in the struggle between that nation and the English for the mastery on this continent. In the intervening years it came to be the headquarters of missionary activity among the Indians, a flourishing community of Indian Christians.

At this period the Moravian Church was the only Protestant Church that carried on an organized effort for the Christianization of the Aborigines. In fact the Church made its chief work of evangelization.

Never since the days of the early Christian Church has such a work of evangelization been carried on with an organization so perfectly adapted and so wholly devoted to the end in view. As a consequence the record of the measure of the Moravian Church's success in the evangelization of the Red man has never been surpassed and scarcely equalled. Spirit-filled men and women, whose personal interests were swallowed up in their love for Christ and their consuming passion to win souls for the crucified Saviour, constituted the main body of workers—at home and in the field, under the leadership of those who were

filled with apostolic grace and wisdom. They came from every walk and avocation in life, representatives of almost every European country; of one ship-load of colonists brought over from Europe, about this time, in a vessel owned and officered by the Church, it is recorded: A few were graduates of universities and theological seminaries; but the majority were bakers, blacksmiths, book-binders, carpenters and joiners, cloth-dressers, cutlers, farmers, a fringe and lace maker, a furrier, masons, shoemakers, stocking weavers, tailors and weavers." All were "awakened" men and women, whose sole object in coming to Pennsylvania was to help lead souls to Jesus Christ, the Saviour of men.

Thus equipped and thus led, the Moravian Church organization achieved amazing results in the work of the evangelization of the Indians. To-day her record is held up by all men as radiant with the light of Apostolic grace and power.

In these days it is no small distinction to be a member of the Moravian Church. Everywhere and by every one, in print and in speech, the Moravian Church is named only to be praised. It has not always been so. It was not thus, in this country, one hundred and fifty years ago.

I quote from the pages of Bishop Levin Theodore Reichel's "History of the American Moravian Church, 1734 to 1748."*

It is a quotation by that historian from the Documentary History of the State of New York, by E. B. O'Callaghan, Vol. III, p. 1022. It is taken from the official reply made by Governor Clinton, of the Province of New York, to the Board of Trade in England, in response to the latter's demand for an explanation of the reasons for the enactment of laws, by the Province Legislature, against the missionary work of the Moravian Church, among the Indians. It is dated May, 1746, the month and the year of the founding of this Gnadenhuetten Mission.

"The Count and his Moravian Brethren have by many Prudent People been lookt upon with a Jealous Eye ever Since his Arrival in these Parts. He is called a German Count, and as Many of his Countrymen have for several years Successively been imported into and Settled in Pensilvania Roman Catholics

* Vol. III, Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, pp. 210-215.

as well as Protestants Without Distinction, Where it Seems by the Indulgence of the Crown their Constitution granted by Charter, all Persuasions Roman Catholics as well as others are tollerated the free exercise of their Religion; the Increase of the People in that Colony has been so Great that they are computed to be Already much an Overbalance to the English subjects there; and from the Priviledge given them of Settling in Bodys by themselves they are like ever to Remain a Distinct People; and this seems to be their Aim, for they are fond of keeping up the (German) Language by Retaining Clergy, Schoolmasters and even Printers of their own Country and Language; nor as is creditably reputed will they Suffer any of their People to Inter-marry with the English so that by these means and the Priviledges the Government of Pennsilvania Admits them to upon Importation, in Common with English Subjects, they may in a Short Time bear the Chief Say in the Government of that Colony, which from the aforegoing observations may Probably be attended with Dangerous Consequences not only to Pensilvania, But his Majesty's other Colonies in North America."

Listen! as Governor Clinton goes on to characterize "these" terrible "Moravians!"

"These Moravians have Compassed Sea and Land to make Proselytes and have so far Succeeded as to Gain in Pennsilvania, this and other Colonys; And the house at the Forks (in Northampton County) beforementioned, is the principal place of Rendezvous and Quarter of the Chiefs of them; 'tis kept according to Whitefield's Scheme as a Seminary for Converts and house of Support to their deluded Votaries, and many have Resorted thither; from thence they dispatch their Itinerant Emissarys, Teachers or Preachers, Simple, illiterate persons, who were wont to be content to busy themselves in their Native country in the Ordinary and humble Occupations they were bred to, viz: Bricklayers, Carpenters, Woolcombers, Taylors, and Such like Mechanical or handy-Craft Trades, till they were infatuated with a certain degree of Enthusiasm or Folly, Sufficient for Qualifying them for the plantation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; of whose Delusions, it seems, the Count has laid hold and thought them proper Tools to be Employed in his Service, perhaps with views unknown to these Creatures them-

selves, though at the same time they are forwarding his Schemes."

After reading the Governor's reasons, the following extract from the law enacted by the New York Colonial Assembly, September 21, 1744, entitled "An Act for Securing of his Majestie's Government of New York," may not surprise us:

"Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid that no person or persons whatsoever shall take upon them to reside among the Indians under the pretense of bringing them over to the Christian Faith but such as shall be duly authorized so to do by License from the Governor or Commander-in-Chief for the time being, and with the advice and consent of the Council, and every Vagrant Preacher, Moravian, Disguised Papist or any other person presuming to reside among and teach the Indians without such License as aforesaid shall be taken up and treated as a person taking upon him to seduce the Indians from his Majestie's Interest and shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted by the Justice of the Supreme Court, not extending to Life and Limb."

"Provided that nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to oblige the Ministers of the Dutch and French protestant reformed churches, the Presbyterian Ministers, Ministers of the Kirk of Scotland, the Lutheran, the Congregational Ministers, the Quakers and the Anabaptists to obtain Certificates for their several places of public worship already erected or that shall be hereafter erected within this Colony."

As Reichel points out: Under the stress of national antipathy and of worldly-mindedness, no one was ready to believe it possible that poor illiterate mechanics, in fellowship with graduates of European universities, should be eager to travel through forests and swamps in heat and cold for the only purpose of gaining souls for Christ.

These quotations will enable us to give the true historic setting to the events which we are assembled to commemorate. The Colonial Assembly of New York had by its enactments compelled the abandonment of the flourishing Indian Mission stations in the border counties of the provinces of New York and Connecticut. The persecutions of bad men who looked upon the spiritual work and success of the Moravian Brethren

with an evil eye, seconded by the official harrassments which grew out of the above enactments, brought about the dispersion and exile of the Indian Christians in the Province of New York and adjacent parts; and at least one of that glorious band of Missionaries, the Apostolic Buettner, suffered martyrdom in his death from sickness brought on by the exposures incident to his legal persecutions.

The new mission station, at which the dispersed Indian Christians were rallied—Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning—was placed within the limits of the Pennsylvania Colony whose charter granted religious liberty and protection in the exercise of such freedom. Here were pitched “the Tents of Divine Grace.”

But the times were troublous. The arts of peace never flourish in times of war. To carry on a gospel work amid such surroundings involved special perils.

The entire countryside of Eastern Pennsylvania was armed. All feared the Indians as a common foe. The story of continuous Indian murders and the threatened repetition of these outrages on a yet larger scale, inflamed the white settlers with terror and with feelings of revenge.

The Church and its work came to stand between the hostile savages and the colonists. No distinction was made between the savage and the Christianized Indian.

On the other hand the war-like Indians were bent upon seducing their converted brethren into the ranks of the warring savages. To the attainment of this end the missionary men and women presented the main obstacle.

It was indeed a hard place into which the followers of the Prince of Peace were led under a sense of devotion to the Lord and to the souls committed to their oversight and care.

But the Moravians of those days knew no other authority but that of the Master. When young Lesley, the only native born American among the Gnadenhuetten Missionary workers, was recovering from a severe spell of fever and ague, in the care of the brethren at Bethlehem, he begged to be permitted to resume his duties as foreman amongst the laborers at Gnadenhuetten. He was so persistent in his request that he was at last given leave, although still very weak. He resumed his place here at

Gnadenhuetten only a few weeks before the massacre. When reminded of the imminent peril at this outer picket station,—for such in reality it had come to be, at the time when an attack by the hostile Indians was looked for at any hour of the day or night—he declared :

“I am not going to leave this place ; I belong to Jesus and He is able to protect me. If He is willing to let anything happen to me, then I shall go home to be forever with him.”

On the memorial stone that marks the grave of the martyrs are inscribed their names as men and women “who lived here (at Gnadenhuetten) unto the Lord.”

When, some weeks before the massacre, word had been brought of the threatening incursions of the hostile Indians, the official record entered by the governing board at Bethlehem ran thus :

“If it must be so, it is better that a Brother should die at his post than to withdraw and have a single soul thus suffer loss!”

Truly a Spartan type of Christianity!

Within a week of the massacre, Brother Gattermeyer received a call to Gnadenhuetten, which he at once accepted with ready willingness.

Brother Schweigert, when the evil intent of the heathen Indian was made a subject of conversation, declared, within a few hours of the fateful Monday evening :

“Nothing contrary to my Saviour’s will can happen to me. If he decrees to call me to himself in this wise, I shall be content.”

He was “awakened” during his term of service in the army, some ten years earlier, before he came to America. It was Schweigert who helped the sisters in their flight into the upper story of the Mission Home, after the first attack of the savages.

With heroic self-possession he fastened down the trap-door, with whatever came to hand, and thus saved the fugitives from falling into the hands of their captives, a fate far worse than their death by fire.

Brother Presser received a call away from Gnadenhuetten to Gnadenenthal, about a month before the massacre. He begged to be retained in the service here, and he thus gained the crown of martyrdom, dying at his post, a true soldier of the cross.

Of him, as of the others, the record says: His chief joy was to show kindness to the Indians, young and old." He was the carpenter of the settlement.

The spirit of loving service filled the hearts of these evangelists.

I have never read a more remarkable record of an all-purpose, all-around man than that of Gattermeyer. Born in Ratisbon, in South Germany, in 1721, he came to Pennsylvania, in the church-ship, the "Irene," in 1749. A blacksmith by trade, he developed a faculty for any and every department of labor in the field of the church's activity. "Before going to Heidelberg in 1752 to the pastoral charge of that post, he served as a helper to the mechanics, a sick-nurse, and for a good while as night-watchman."

"Oftentimes in the watches of the night his wakeful brethren caught the strains of his beautiful voice, telling of God's watch and ward of his people. He took a deep interest in the Indian work. His intercourse with them was characterized at once by manly steadiness and womanly tenderness. No labor was too much for him, only so that he could lend them a helpful hand.

"He was ready to scrub, to wash dishes, to sweep, to milk the cow, to cook, and then to preach, to lead in the liturgical services, to preside at conferences with the brethren and sisters, to encourage his fellow-workers; happy and contented under all circumstances, always cherishing a thankful spirit; with the dear Lord's comfort in his heart amid all perplexities and difficulties, loving in all his intercourse with others, resolutely prepared to enter upon any path of duty to which he was summoned—all these characteristics marked his constant service."

Of Fabricius, born on Fuenen Island, in 1716, the college graduate from Copenhagen, who belonged, subsequent to his awakening in 1748, to the first class formed in the Moravian Theological Seminary at Barby, in Prussia, we are told that he arrived in Pennsylvania, with seven other trained theologians, in the fall of 1753. He at once took hold of the educational work among the children. The following year he came here to Gnadenhuetten, to teach the Indian school children, and to learn the Delaware Indian tongue. He became absorbed in his work and was mightily drawn to his Indian brethren, and be-

came almost like one of them, in his consuming zeal to serve them. Shot down in his attempt to escape from the burning Mission House, his body, scalped and mutilated, was laid to its grave rest yonder; a trained teacher of youth, who loved his calling and shrank from no peril in the performance of his duty. May his memory be cherished by the children of every succeeding generation. It is a fit tribute to him and to his fellow-missionaries, that the school-children of Lehighton have taken so prominent and earnest a part in the memorial services of to-day.

A fellow collegian, who for a while had been his co-laborer here, Christian Wedstedt, wrote an elegy in Latin, which has been placed in the record of those fateful days and reads thus:

GEORGE CHRISTIAN FABRICIUS.

Ah mi Frabrici, Jonathan mi, fide sodalis,
 Tamque diu mihimet cognite, care, bone!
 Audio cum lacrymis multis magnoque dolore
 Vulnere cumque gravi vulnera magna tua.
 Vulneribus mortis tantis affecte recurris
 In mentem cuivis, qui tibi carus erat.
 Non moreris; quid enim? tua vulnera vivera nomen
 Quaeque jubent nobis, Frater amande, tuum,
 Carus eras nobis, sed multo carior esse
 Debes, qui Christo sanguine testis eras.
 Oblitusque tui, jam gaudes Sanguine Sponsi
 Qui amplexabatur, junctus amore tibi.
 Osculor, et tibimet jam terque quaterque beato
 Gratulor in Pleura.

Commemor esto
 tui
 Chr. Wedstedtii.

Brother and Sister Anders came to Pennsylvania, in the "Little Strength," in 1743, the church ship that brought over the "Second Sea Congregation," or Colony, numbering one hundred and twenty persons. It was their "wedding journey," for they had just been married in May of that year on that memorable Herrnhag wedding day when twenty-four young couples were joined in holy wedlock, before entering upon the service of the church in America. Both came to be members of the Moravian Church, some years preceding, because they had been "awakened."

They were very happy in their married life of a little more than ten years. God gave them four little children of whom one had been called home, two, Gottlieb and John, were in the care of the Church Nursery, at Nazareth, and the baby,—Johanna—lay in the loving arms of its mother, when parents and babe went to glory in the fiery chariot of this November day, 150 years ago.

“True as steel” are the closing words of the memoir of our brother’s life and activity. Willing, sensible, tactful, untiring, are the words which characterize their testimony. He was drawn, in loving devotion, to the Indian, Christian and heathen, and knew “how to handle” them. His wife was a fit companion in all his labors. This young couple, united in their lives, were not separated in their death. “Buried in the fiery ashes” of the Gnadenhuetten martyrdom,—this was the high reward and honor that came to these devoted workers for Jesus, so runs the record of that day.

The same day’s fiery martyrdom separated the Sensemans, husband and wife. Henry Joachim Senseman was married to Anna Catharine Ludwig, at Marienborn, in 1741. They were members of that pilgrim colony—“the First Sea-Congregation”—which reached Philadelphia, on June 7, 1742, on their way to Bethlehem. They served in the work of the first Indian Mission in New York, and were active in the work of the schools which had been established in that early day. They were appointed to the responsible Warden’s office here, to assume charge of the secular business of the mission. They came in August, only a little more than three months before the massacre. Of their five children, the oldest and the youngest, a little boy and a little girl, had been called home to Jesus; they knew the other three, Gottlob, Joachim, and Anna Benigna, were in the loving care of the Church, enjoying a measure of that care which they had given to the children of other parents, while serving in the schools. On this day of death and separation, Sister Senseman suddenly laid aside her share of the common work at which the sisters were busily engaged, and crossed over to the Brethren’s house where her husband lay sick. She came to give tender expression of her love. You and I can readily understand the sudden impulse that came into the woman’s heart to look into his eyes

and tell him how she loved him. It was a foreboding of the impending separation.

When the entire missionary family had taken their places at the supper-table, and Brother Anders had said grace, Brother Senseman remembered that he had forgotten to lock the door of the chapel. He left the family circle to attend to this neglect. In the brief interval the savages surrounded the Mission house and made his return impossible. Unarmed, all that was left him was to seek escape in flight.

Just before Sister Partsch escaped by leaping from the window of the upper story of the burning Mission House, she heard Sister Senseman, who sat with folded hands, saying: "Dear Saviour, this is what I expected." By birth a member of the Roman Catholic Church, she had been "awakened," and from the first hour of her conversion to the last, she manifested the love and fidelity that spring from closest heart-communion with Jesus.

Brother Martin Nitschmann, the first one of the Mission Family to fall, shot to death, as he stood in the open door of their common home, across whose threshold these missionaries were wont to give a gospel welcome to Indians, whether converts or heathen, to white and brown neighbors and strangers, always ready to give shelter and food, whether they themselves had much or little—was a member of that family whose name has become a classic in the annals of that early period of our Church. In every department of the church's work the Nitschmanns made a record; they shared alike in the honors of highest official position and distinction, and in hardest labors and sacrifices of every plan, high and low. Bishops, martyrs, farmers,—awakened exiles, every one of them,—it is no strange thing that this name stands on the only record of martyrdom of white brethren and sisters, in the history of our American Moravian Church. Martin was born at Zauchtenthal, in the Kuhlaendl, in Moravia, the cradle of the pilgrim exiles that fled across the mountain border into Saxony, and who commanded, in God's providence, the erection of "the Watch of the Lord," glorious Herrnhut, a city of God whence have never ceased to flow forth the waters of Christ's eternal salvation! He was born on March 19, 1714. He reached Herrnhut, a youth

of nineteen, in March, 1733. Here he learned the cutler's trade. Received as an Acolyte, at Herrnhaag in 1748, he came to America in 1749, a little more than six years before his martyrdom. On the same ship with him, the church-ship "Irene," came the two Bishops, David Nitschmann and John Nitschmann, Matthew Stach and Christian David, *nomen venerabile!*—"good old Christian David." But besides these came also among the single sisters, Sister Susanna Weicht. Martin and Susan were married at Bethlehem, in July, 1749, two months after their arrival. (*"Er war ein stiller, fleissiger und brauchbarer Bruder, an dem man sich erbauen und erquicken konnte. Er hatte was Lammhaftes und gesetztes, war kindlich und friedlich unter seinen Geschwistern, priesterlich in seiner Ehe, liturgisch in seinem Umgang."*) This characterization that cannot be satisfactorily rendered into English, tells of him as a quiet, industrious, useful member of the mission family, whose conduct constantly made for peace and truthful friendship, who loved and honored the wife whom God had given him, and who stood at all times for steadfast devotion to the Church of his fathers. It was a fitting honor that a Nitschmann should head the list of Gnadenhuetten martyrs.

To Susan Weicht Nitschmann, his faithful helpmeet, came the crowning distinction to suffer the Gethsemane depths of horrible captivity—a living death. Mated with a disciple who deemed the ties of matrimony holy, she the priestess and he the priest, at the family altar—she was suddenly thrust out into the bestial companionship of a ruthless savage, her Christian womanhood outraged in its holiest sensibilities. It was a grateful word that came to Bethlehem, months afterwards, that after the tortures of a prolonged martyrdom, not to be named in connection with death by fire or by the tomahawk, she was brought into the eternal sanctuary of peace and love. I am sure her Lord and Saviour led Susanna straight to where Martin stood, for reunion and eternal happiness.

Two little boys, John and Martin, were in the tender watch and care of the Church Nursery.

In the beautiful God's Acre at Nazareth there is a little grave, into which they laid little Martin's body soon after the massacre of his parents here at Gnadenhuetten.

John grew up to manhood, married and had a numerous family. Descendants of his sons and daughters are living in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other parts of the land.

I have thus attempted to set forth the spirit in which these martyred men and women wrought in their service of Christ and their fellow men.

I am fresh from the sessions of the great Inter-Church Convention for Confederation, held during the past ten days in New York City. I have listened to the addresses of leading representatives of thirty-two (32) different evangelical Protestant Churches and eighteen millions (18,000,000) of American Christians. There was a wonderful unity of sentiment expressed in all these addresses and appeals. The one keynote was that for unity of evangelistic effort and the other was that for a Christianity of service and sacrifice.

The record with which this memorial service has to do is one rarely paralleled in the story of the Church of Jesus Christ, since the days of the Apostles and their immediate successors.

These Missionary men and women poured out their lives upon the altar of sacrifice unto the Lord and the brethren; they did indeed "live here for the Lord," and the Lord's lost ones. Their holy example is a rich heritage for every generation. Their burial place is a holy shrine for constant renewal of loving devotion to Christ and to Christ's lost ones.

I cannot close these memorial words without dwelling upon one more feature of significance in the events of that November evening in 1755, which we are met to commemorate.

The destruction of Gnadenhuetten, the outpost station, saved Bethlehem, the central station, from destruction either by the hostile whites or the hostile Indians. The men and women who stood at their post of service at Gnadenhuetten, until their lives were sacrificed, made that sacrifice for the larger circle of Moravian workers at Bethlehem. They died for their brethren! *Pro Nobis!* For us, in our behalf, in our stead, was the keynote of the Latin elegy already referred to.

This lends a sacred charm to the tragedy, that can only belong to it, from this fact of a vicarious sacrifice. As Lincoln said upon the field of Gettysburg, let us here at this holy shrine pray God to inspire us with a larger measure of devotion to

duty in all service of Him, by day and by night, that, if the exigency arise, we may be willing and prepared to meet it and give even our lives for Christ and for them whom Christ died to save!

A few of us have been referred to as kindred by human ties to some. But, on this day of hallowed memories, we realize that by the blood of Christ we are all kin in the brotherhood of His divine sacrifice—that He alone is Master and we all be Brethren!

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MASSACRE AT GNADENHUETTEN, PA.

Before depicting the details of the cruel tragedy at Gnadenhuetten, Pa., which gave the death blow to this flourishing Indian mission, it will be fitting to give a brief statement of the causes which led to its establishment on the Mahoning by the Brethren's Church.

The successful labors of the Moravian missionaries at Shecomeco, N. Y., and at Wechquadrach and Pachgatgoch in Connecticut had come, perforce, to an untimely end through the persecutions of the self-sacrificing teachers at the hands of ignorant, jealous and unscrupulous neighbors.

It was found imperative to remove the Christianized Indians from their abodes in the beautiful Stissing valley and locate them on lands which they could call their own, and thus Bethlehem became the first place of refuge for those Mohicans and Wampanoags who were willing to accept the invitation hither.

This asylum on the banks of the Monocacy, aptly termed Friedenshuetten—the tents of Peace—was intended as a temporary abode only, for steps were at once taken to secure a tract of land beyond the Blue Mountains as a permanent home for the Indians and their teachers, the purchase being consummated in March, 1746.

This gateway in the main road of communication between the white settlers and the Indian regions of Nescopee, Wyoming and Tioga afforded to many an untutored savage from these upper regions the opportunity to hear the words of saving grace as spoken by the Moravian missionaries.

A saw and grist-mill was built on the Mahoning by the Brethren of Bethlehem in 1747, and many rafts of boards and sawed timber were floated down the Lehigh, when its waters, swollen by rains, afforded favorable transit to Bethlehem, and which were used in the erection of some of the massive stone buildings still standing on Church Street.

In 1750 the Moravians made a purchase of land on the other side of the Lehigh from Gnadenhuetten and to this spot the Indian cabins were removed in May, 1754. The mission buildings (the larger of which was built in 1749) were still made use of by the teachers and their families and by those who superintended the mill and farm work.

This transfer to the east side of the river was occasioned by the complaints of the Indian converts of the poor quality of soil on the Mahoning side as compared with the rich bottom lands on the east shore. There were restless and unstable spirits among them, too, who wavered between their promises to the Brethren and the insistent attempts of unfriendly and scheming savages who used every artifice to induce them to remove to Wyoming, and it was in order to keep a firm hold on their converts, for their own spiritual and temporal welfare, that this purchase and their transfer to New Gnadenhuetten was made.

This, therefore, was the situation when the Indian irruption upon the border settlements occurred in 1755—a score of Indian cabins occupied the present site of Weissport, while the mission buildings, mill and farm remained on the Mahoning.

The account of the massacre, following herewith, is taken from "A History of Bethlehem" and is compiled by the author, Bishop J. Mortimer Levering, from all the rich and varied sources afforded by the manuscript matter in the Church Archives at Bethlehem. The fact of its being presented from an objective rather than a subjective point of view would seem to be a special feature of interest in recounting this last act in the history of the Indian mission at Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning.

November 24 was a day of noise and confusion such as had never been experienced in Bethlehem, with sights that seemed very strange in its quiet streets. All day armed men marched through from different parts of New Jersey and some of the lower neighborhoods of Pennsylvania, on horseback and afoot, with drums and flags, intending to scour the woods in the direction of Gnadenhuetten in search of hostile Indians. It was hoped that some detachments of the murderous hordes might be encountered and repulsed, and their further advance

thus be checked. David Zeisberger, with the knowledge of the militia captains, mounted a horse and started for Gnadenhuetten ahead of the rangers, to deliver Horsfield's message to Mack in reference to the desired convoy to Bethlehem, to inform the Indian congregation of this expedition and instruct them to remain quietly in their houses, so that they would not be found outside in the woods and mistaken for savages. He was stopped on the way by a company of excited Irishmen, who took it for granted that he was bound for the hostile camps to give the alarm to the "French Indians" and frustrate the purposes of the militiamen, and thought that they had at last caught one of the Moravian traitors in the very act. Zeisberger's coolness and tact, which seemed never to forsake him in any emergency, together with that impressive power of conscious innocence which often turns the sentiments, even of the most bitter and excited men, served him well, as it had before and later did in far more critical straits. He was finally permitted to ride on, but the detention involved great peril for the Indian congregation.

Evening was coming when he reached the mission. Having delivered his letters to Mack, he immediately turned his course to the river, to cross before it became quite dark, intending to rest over night at the establishment on the Mahoning, on the other side, after delivering his message there. He had heard gun-shots west of the river as he approached the mission, but did not suspect anything amiss, for, with squads of militia now traversing the woods and occasionally firing signals to other bands this was not a particularly startling sound that day. Suddenly a piteous cry from the other shore came to the missionaries on the east side who had just taken leave of Zeisberger. Shebosh instantly pushed a canoe into the water and directly returned, bringing Joachim Sensemann and George Partsch, with the horrible tidings that the savages had fallen upon the settlement and, as they supposed, murdered the rest of the household. Then the rising flames began to light up the gloaming with a sickening evidence of the fiendish work that was being done. Zeisberger had meanwhile slowly made his way to the ford, and was crossing the stream. The nearer noise of the splashing water and the

crack of the stones under his horse's hoofs prevented him from hearing the shooting and yelling of the savages, broken by the thick underbrush of the river-bank and the bluff beyond, which also concealed from him the light of the starting flames. Mack called to him several times at the top of his voice, but did not succeed in attracting his attention until he had reached the other side. A moment he paused and with dismay took in the awful situation, just as young Joseph Sturgis, who had escaped with a slight wound on his face, rushed gasping down to the river. Turning about, he forded back to the east side. There a consultation was held in the anxious suspense of the hour. The Indians, who gathered about Martin Mack in terror asking what they should do—many of the younger men were yet off on their fall hunt—were advised by him to quietly disperse and conceal themselves in the thick woods; for it was taken for granted that an attack upon the buildings on that side would soon follow. Sturgis had slipped away into the forest.

Zeisberger gathered what particulars could be given him by Sensemann and Partsch, and, with these and Mack's official message, set out in the darkness to make his way with all the speed his tired horse could command, back to Bethlehem. His dreary midnight ride was broken by a brief interview with some of the militia rangers of the previous day whom he met on the road. He told them what had taken place, and their first impression was expressed in the declaration that this appalling fate of the Moravians at Gnadenhuetten proved their innocence of complicity with the savages in the interest of the French. Thus he could carry back, with his tale of woe, also the first evidence of good to come out of this great evil. He had not many details to report. The household of sixteen persons, fifteen adults and one infant, excepting two who were not well—Senseman's wife, who had remained in the room set apart for the women, and Peter Worbas, single, who was in another building in which the unmarried men had their quarters—were gathered at the table in the general dwelling and guest-house, partaking of their evening meal. The barking of the dogs and a sound as of persons approaching the premises, led Sensemann, who was steward, to

go out for the purpose of locking the doors of the main building in which the chapel was, and making things secure for the night. He saw no one, and entered the building. Hardly had he struck a light, when he heard a loud report of firearms. He, like Zeisberger, thought the shooting was done by a company of militia who had passed several hours before, and were expected to spend the night there, and paid no attention to it. Having locked the door, he started to return to where the others were, when he was met by Partsch, who announced that Indians had rushed upon the house and were shooting at the inmates, and that he had escaped through a window. Sensemann proposed that they make an effort to rescue the women, and they turned towards the house, but it was entirely surrounded by the savage troop and they, being unarmed, could do nothing more than make their escape and sound an alarm at the mission, east of the Lehigh. The setting fire to the house followed after they fled and the presumption with which Zeisberger started for Bethlehem was that all, excepting these two men and young Joseph Sturgis, whom he had seen, had perished by the bullets or tomahawks of the murderers or in the flames. At three o'clock on the morning of the 25th he reached Bethlehem, aroused Bishop Spangenberg and told him the horrible story. Whether any others were immediately informed of it does not appear in the narrative. A messenger was sent to Parsons at Easton about two hours later.

In the early dawn of that sad November morning the people of Bethlehem were summoned, by the ringing of the bell, to morning prayer as usual, this being the first thing each day. Spangenberg had, according to his custom, opened the book of daily texts to see what the watchword of the day was, and he found a peculiar significance in it that gave him a starting-point from which to begin the service and the morning words to the people in the usual manner, preparatory to breaking the mournful news. "Joseph. . . . made himself strange unto them and spake roughly unto them." As his brethren, not recognizing him under the temporary disguise of this harsh exterior, said to Jacob their father, "the man spake roughly unto us." Thus, said Spangenberg, our Lord sometimes deals roughly with us and makes Himself strange, but we know His heart. A peculiar

impression was felt—an apprehension of something momentous—as he looked about the congregation, and his voice quivered with pent-up emotion. Then the announcement of the tragedy was made and tearful supplications went up to the darkly veiled throne of grace. Many a one's early meal was left untouched in Bethlehem that morning, and the day was one of mourning. Another thing Spangenberg said at that morning service: "Our neighborhood can now see that the Brethren are not allied with the French, for we have been in such danger for several days of being fallen upon by a mob that they have quite openly said, 'before we move upon the enemy, we must not leave one stone upon another in Bethlehem.' The Justice, our Brother Horsfield, has been a real martyr, for he could not convince all of the people that our remaining so quiet in the midst of the tumult that fills the whole land did not signify that we had an understanding with French."

Those slain on the Mahoning were verily martyrs, destined, in the mysterious ways of God, "who made Himself strange unto them and spake roughly unto them," to bear the convicting testimony to men who refused to be convinced by lesser proof. In some sense and degree, their blood was vicarious blood. It had to wash out the cruel calumny which excited prejudice, incapable of understanding the Moravians, persisted in writing on the bulletin board of public sensation, and it became the sprinkled blood on the lintels and door-posts of Bethlehem to stay the destroying hand of men, maddened by the fiendish atrocities perpetrated upon their homes, who might otherwise have taken vengeance upon the Moravians, as friends of the Indians. When the murderous hand of the savages was to be lifted against Bethlehem, God stayed that hand, for He had chosen the place as a city of refuge to which many who escaped might flee from the fields, where one was taken and another left. The most obtuse mind could be expected to comprehend, when the massacre on the Mahoning became known, that the savages would not fall upon those who were secretly working with them and murder them. They thus took revenge upon the Moravians for standing in their way with that settlement at the mountain gate-way, and foiling their attempts to secure the co-operation of those converts. After this, the repe-

tition of the old slander—and, although common opinion among suspecting masses was suddenly and powerfully changed, it was repeated by some, even after this—could no longer be charitably ascribed to mere ignorance about the Moravians. It now became criminal malice.

In the course of the day, on the 25th of November, one after another arrived from the scene of carnage, like the messengers of Job coming in to tell of the ruin wrought where Satan's hand was permitted to fall. From one after the other, further particulars were learned. About seven o'clock the first fugitive arrived; Peter Worbis, who at first had watched the horrible scenes from the room of the single men in another building. Although ill, he had trudged the long distance to Bethlehem afoot. He could not tell much more than was known. He saw one of the women flee to the cellar, outside the house, and back into the "sisters' room," pursued by a savage with uplifted tomahawk. He heard the heart-rending screams of an infant amid the crackling of the flames. For some time he was a prisoner, a guard being posted at the door. A shout from the other savages diverting the attention of his guard, he leaped from the window towards the Mahoning and fled. On the way to Bethlehem he heard of the escape of Sturgis. Anton Schmidt and Marcus Kiefer, who, at Shamokin, had become veterans in facing the dangers of savage surroundings, were soon dispatched to Gnadenhuetten to ascertain how matters stood there, and to take a message from Justice Horsefield to the militia gathered at that point, stating that provisions would be sent them if needed. Spangenberg, meanwhile, went to Nazareth to make the sorrowful announcement there, and institute the first steps towards guarding against a surprise by the savages. There, when he undertook to speak again of what had taken place, his composure forsook him. He broke down under the strain and for a while could only weep.

In the afternoon Sensemann came, bringing about thirty of the Gnadenhuetten Indians, all completely exhausted by their hard experiences. While making his way through the woods towards Bethlehem, he came upon this little band cowering in their place of concealment, and brought them along. All that Sensemann could relate was already known through Zeisberger.

Later in the day Martin Mack arrived with his wife, Grube and his wife, Schmick and Joseph Powell and his wife, who had been temporarily at the station on the east side, and more of the fugitive Indians. Mack was almost broken-hearted. Gnadenhuetten had been very dear to him. He had devoted himself to that mission from the beginning with all his heart, and he felt as a father towards the converts who were singularly attached to him. The colony of men and women who occupied the original buildings on the west side of the river had trusted his counsel and leadership when the time of peril came. He had encouraged them to stand quietly and manfully at their post. They had done so, and now they had fallen at that post, and he was spared. He was overwhelmed with sorrow. The entire Indian congregation of seventy persons gradually found their way to Bethlehem. Here they were sheltered in the "Indian house" and were cared for, regardless of the risk their presence might entail upon Bethlehem when the unreasoning excitement of some in whose eyes all Indians were alike, was stirred anew by the discovery that they were housed there. It put a strain even upon the confidence and good will of some of the Bethlehem people, under the poignant grief they felt for the awful fate that had befallen their brethren and sisters on the Mahoning; all on account of Indians and at the hands of Indians; and under the growing dread of an attack upon Bethlehem, which might the more quickly be provoked by the presence of these people whom the savages were now bent upon killing, since they could not entice them. It even became necessary for Spangenberg, a few weeks later, to plead with such openly, to not permit aversion and bitterness to possess their hearts towards these poor creatures snatched as a brand from the burning; the remaining fruit of many labors, prayers and tears.

In the afternoon of November 26, Partsch and his wife Susanna reached Bethlehem. It was not known whether he had escaped or not, after he and Sensemann parted, and his wife was supposed to be, of course, among the victims. Young Sturgis came with them. They brought the fullest details of the horrible massacre. After Sensemann had gone out to lock the door, as related by him, the barking of the dogs increased and footsteps were heard about the house. Sturgis, followed by

several of the other men, arose from the table and opened the door, supposing that the expected militia men were coming. There, before the door, stood some of the murderous savages, ready for the attack. Instantly they fired, and Martin Nitschmann fell dead, while a bullet grazed the face of Joseph Sturgis, who was nearest to the door. Another volley quickly followed and John Lesley, John Gattermeyer and Martin Presser fell. Presser, as was discovered some months later, was not instantly killed, but was able to creep from the house and find his way to the woods nearby, where he succumbed to his wound.

Martin Nitschmann's wife, Susanna, was next wounded by a ball. She was seen to fall and her cry, "O brethren! brethren! help me!" was heard. That was the last then known of her, and it was supposed that she had perished by a tomahawk or in the flames. She was evidently dragged out of the house when the remaining inmates fled to the garret, and, as was afterwards learned, she was taken captive by the murderers.

Those who succeeded in reaching the dormitory in the garret closed and secured the trap-door, so that their pursuers could not force it open. This remnant of the household were Gottlieb Anders, his wife, Johanna Christina, and their infant daughter, Johanna; Susanna Louisa, wife of George Partsch; Anna Catharine, wife of Joachim Sensemann; George Christian Fabricius, George Schweigert and Joseph Sturgis. Senseman's wife sank down upon the edge of a bed and simply exclaimed, "Dear Saviour, this is what I expected!" The wife of Anders, with her wailing infant wrapped in her apron and clasped to her heart, expressed only a mother's anguish for her child. There they passed an awful quarter of an hour, listening to the yells of the savage troop and the shots fired at random through the window, the roof and the floor. One and another of the prisoners screamed for help at intervals, in the faint hope that rescuers might approach and hear that they were yet alive. Then there was a lull in the shooting; the yells ceased for a brief space, and no one was seen by those who peered out of the garret window. For the moment the attention of the demons was absorbed in their final most fiendish plan. Soon the crackling of the flames told the victims what they might now expect. Sturgis seized this opportunity to leap from the window, landed safely

and got away. Susanna Partsch immediately followed him and also escaped. The third and last to make the attempt was Fabricius, as appeared from the discoveries made the next day. The window was now again watched, and he did not escape. The remaining four with the little child evidently perished in the flames.

Susanna Partsch was unfamiliar with the surroundings, having been at the place a week only and did not know which way to take in the darkness. She secreted herself for some time behind a tree, at an elevated spot near the main building, where she could watch the movements of the murderers. She saw them set fire to one building after another; first the barn, then the kitchen and bakery, then the single men's dwelling, after that the store and last of all, with some difficulty, the main building containing the chapel—the Gemeinhaus. The store was first looted, then all eatables found in kitchen, bakery and spring-house were collected and the savages had a feast by the light of the conflagration. There were estimated to be about twelve of them. About midnight, as nearly as the trembling watcher could judge, they gathered up the plunder secured in the store and set out towards Wyoming. Then this almost distracted woman, left alone at the desolate place, made her way down to the river where she came to a large hollow tree within which she took refuge until daylight, when rescuers arrived.

Partsch had found his way during the night to a house in the Blue Mountains, where he fell in with Sturgis. Early in the morning they returned to the Mahoning with some rangers. He was nerved by a presentiment that his wife had escaped. When they got across the Lehigh, they suddenly came upon her, crouched in her place of concealment, almost benumbed with cold and fright. They went on to explore the scene of desolation. All the buildings were burned down, and the charred remains of some who had there perished could be seen but not distinguished. Outside, in the square, they came upon the body of Fabricius, pierced with bullets, scalped and mutilated, and watched over by the only living friend that remained at the spot, his dog. The savages, after finishing their atrocious work, left a blanket with a hat and knife stuck through them on a stump, as a defiant warning of more of the like to follow. Exhausted

and sickened, Partsch and his wife and Sturgis set out on their sorrowful journey to Bethlehem.

Amid the deserted cabins on the east side, only Shebosh remained a while to watch for any members of the Indian congregation who might yet be hiding near-by and, seeing him there, might venture to approach. On November 27, Anton Schmidt returned from the Mahoning where, with the assistance of some neighbors, he had hastily made a coffin in which he placed the body of Fabricius, with such charred remains of the others as he could collect, and buried it in a corner of the garden, where the little cemetery of the place had been opened.

The foregoing narrative is compiled from a careful collation of all exant original accounts, correcting inaccuracies of some of the many printed accounts, supplying some points lacking in others, and giving all the authentic particulars that would be found by examining all of them. This massacre ended Indian mission work there. The place lay neglected until 1771, when it became the center of a white congregation, composed of members of the two defunct congregations, Allemaengel and Sichein, Duchess County, N. Y., the region of the original Indian mission which furnished the nucleus of Gnadenhuetten in 1746. In 1783 the first recorded formal attention was paid to the grave of these martyrs, when that white congregation gathered around it to observe the Easter matins. In 1786, the Rev. John Frederick Moehring, minister there, addressed the executive authorities at Bethlehem in reference to placing a memorial stone on the spot—a thing spoken of before. Finally, on December 10, 1788, the slab that yet lies there, with its simple but impressive inscription was placed on the grave. The monument at the head of it was provided through the exertions of descendants of Martin and Susanna Nitschmann, and set in place, August 7, 1848, the centennial anniversary of the first Indian interment at Gnadenhuetten. The credit for again rescuing the sacred spot from oblivion, more than thirty years after the dissolution of the white congregation of Gnadenhuetten, belongs mainly to the late Joseph Leibert, of Bethlehem, whose wife was a granddaughter of the Nitschmanns.

MEMOIRS OF THE MARTYRS.

ANNA CATHARINE SENSEMAN,

whose maiden name was Ludwig, was born October 20, 1717, at Lichtewarn, Upper Silesia, of Roman Catholic parentage, in which church she received her first religious instruction. At the age of 15 years she became concerned for her soul's salvation and suffered persecution in consequence, being threatened even with imprisonment. Without the consent of her parents she made her way to Herrnhut where she hoped to find peace for her soul and here she was, in course of time, received as a church member.

On August 5, 1741, she was married to Joachim Senseman, at Marienborn; in November of the same year they received a call to assist in the work of the Brethren in Pennsylvania, and in June, 1742, they arrived in Philadelphia, members of the "First Sea Congregation."

In January, 1743, they were dispatched by Count Zinzendorf, at that time in Philadelphia, to their first mission station, Shecomeco, in the colony of New York, where they spent two years among the Mohican Indians living there. In 1752 they entered on their duties as missionaries at Pachgatgoch, Conn., where she proved herself a faithful help and comforter to the Indian sisters in particular.

In 1754 they had the management of the school at Macungie, and in August of the fateful year, 1755, were transferred to the Mission on the Mahoning. Of their five children, three, Gottlob, Joachim and Anna Benigna survived their mother.

GOTTLIEB ANDERS.

Gottlieb Anders was born in 1717, at Neumark, Silesia, his parents being Lutherans. Having learned the profession of gardening, he worked with the Brethren at Herrnhut and successively at Herrndyk and Herrnhag. At the latter place he was received into church fellowship on May 26, 1743, and, on the following day, was married to Johanna Christina Vollmer.

During the same year they went to America with the "Second Sea Congregation," reaching Bethlehem in November.

For ten years they lived at Nazareth, where he took a kindly interest in the welfare of the Indians who were still living in the neighborhood, and was patient and untiring in administering to the wants of these as well as of such visiting Indians who happened to lodge there, frequently comforting such as were sick, so that he was generally known and beloved by the aborigines in this vicinity. In everything that he undertook to perform he was punctual and reliable, proving himself "true as steel."

During the year 1755 they were transferred to Gnadenhuetten, where he served as Chaplain and closed his career as a martyr in the service of his Lord and Master.

JOHANNA CHRISTINA ANDERS

was born December 3, 1720, in Homburg; her maiden name was Vollmer. At the age of 20 years, she received her parents' permission to join the Brethren's Church at Herrndyk, and she was received in church communion in November, 1741. She was united in marriage with Gottlieb Anders in 1743, accompanied him to America and proved a true helpmeet to him and a loving mother to their four children, of whom, the youngest,

JOHANNA ANDERS,

was privileged to suffer a martyr's death with her parents. The infant was aged one year and two months. They were survived by two sons, Gottlieb and John, who died at Nazareth, both unmarried.

MARTIN NITSCHMANN

was born in Zauchtenthal, Moravia, March 19, 1714. He went to Herrnhut in 1733 and learned the cutler's trade. Having resided for a year at Herrnhaag, he left for America in 1749. He was married, at Bethlehem, on July 15 of the same year and lived at Nazareth until August, 1755, when they joined the mission force at Gnadenhuetten. He was a quiet, industrious and useful brother and led an exemplary life. He was the first of the little martyr company on the Mahoning to give up his life, having reached the age of nearly 42 years.

SUSANNA NITSCHMANN,

whose maiden name was Weicht, was born in Roesnitz, Silesia, November 18, 1721, and was raised in the Lutheran Church. She was received into the communion of the Brethren at Herrnhut, in 1741. She came to America in 1749, one of the same company which included her future husband, Martin Nitschmann, to whom she was married in July of this year. They had two children, Martin, who died at Nazareth, and John, who later in life moved to York County, Pa., and who was the progenitor of those who, at the present day treasure the memory of their martyred forebears of Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning.

Her ultimate fate was publicly announced at Bethlehem, July 10, 1756, when reliable information brought by the baptized Indian Joachim, confirmed previous reports.

Susanna Nitschmann was taken first to Wyoming by the savages, almost perishing from cold on the way.

Several of the baptized Indians who had withdrawn from Gnadenhuetten were living here and recognized her as a Moravian sister.

The first was Sarah, wife of Abraham the Mohican, who threw up her hands in consternation when she saw her.

Abigail, wife of Benjamin, was permitted to care for her wants in her own hut, until her brutal captor dragged her off to Tioga. There she passed her days in constant weeping and sank into a dazed condition of deep melancholy; Joachim saw her and spoke with her, and he had definite information of her death at Tioga.

The Indian who had led the attack on the Mahoning and had taken possession of her as his prize was killed in August, 1757, by another Indian under the accusation of having acted as a French spy at the treaty in Easton.

JOHANN LEONHARD GATTERMEYER,

born July 19, 1721, at Regensburg, was of Lutheran parentage. He learned the trade of blacksmith and united with the Brethren at Ebersdorf in January, 1745. He lived at various times at Herrnhag, Zeist and in London, Eng.

He came to Bethlehem in 1749 and in July of the same year was wedded to Dorothea Uhlmann, who departed in October, 1755, but six weeks before the tragedy on the Mahoning. After

serving in many and varied capacities at Heidelberg, Gnaden-thal, Shamokin and Bethlehem, he was sent as a general assistant to the Gnadenhuetten Mission, where his ability as blacksmith and his knowledge of the Indian language brought many an Indian stranger to the village and haply gave many an opportunity to hear the Gospel of Christ. He reached the age of 34 years and 4 months.

His surviving daughter died at Lititz, Pa., an unmarried sister.

GEORGE CHRISTIAN FABRICIUS,

a native of Fuehnen, Denmark, was born January 6, 1716. While taking an academic course in Copenhagen he became acquainted with the Brethren and resolved to devote himself to the service of the Lord in the Brethren's Church.

He entered into their communion at Herrnhaag in 1749 and in October of the same year became one of the first instructors in the Seminary at Barby. Pursuant with a call to Pennsylvania, he came to this country in September, 1753.

The following year he became one of the household at Gnadenhuetten and bent his energies, with remarkably happy results, to the acquisition of the Delaware Indian tongue and he delighted many of his friends with congratulatory stanzas in the musical language of the Unamis, on the occasion of birthday or other anniversary occasions. He served as Chaplain in this mission station and instructed the children of the Indian converts and was esteemed and beloved by his brethren, white and brown. He reached the age of nearly 39 years.

GEORGE SCHWEIGERT,

of Heidenheim, Wuerttemberg, was born in 1724, entered the military service in 1744, became acquainted with several Moravians of the rank and file and determined to join the Brethren's Church as soon as his dismissal from duty would allow him. In 1748 he was received into the Church at Herrnhaag. He came to America with a colony of unmarried men in 1750. He was for several years a faithful laborer in the Economy at Bethlehem and for the past year at Gnadenhuetten as laborer and teamster.

MARTIN PRESSER,

a native of Weimar, was born September 18, 1709, and made the acquaintance of the Brethren while working at the carpenter's trade at Jena, in 1738. He united with the Church at Herrnhag in 1740, came to America, in company with George Schweigert, in 1750, and soon made himself useful as a carpenter at Gnadenhuetten.

His services having been asked for at Christian's Spring, about a month before the massacre, he begged to be allowed to remain with the flock on the Mahoning and thus it came to pass that he laid down his life with the other mission martyrs.

JOHN FREDERICK LESLEY

was born February 29, 1732, at Conestoga, Pa. In early childhood he was placed in the care of strangers, living for a short time with a relative at Ephrata—possibly with the Valentine Leslie who figured among the "Solitary" in the cloister of the Seventh Day Baptists. He drifted to Warwick, near Lititz, when he was fourteen years of age, learned the trade of shoemaking here and at Heidelberg, and was baptized at Bethlehem, by Bishop Cammerhoff, November 13, 1748. He spent much of his time at Gnadenhuetten, taking much interest in the welfare of the Indians and becoming quite apt in their tongue.

He served faithfully in superintending the clearing of land and building fences and was occasionally dispatched as messenger to Wyoming and Shamokin. He had spent several months at Bethlehem to be cured of chills and fever until at his earnest request, he was allowed to return to the Mahoning mission, although not fully restored to health.

This was but a few weeks before the massacre, when he, too, became one of the martyrs, having reached the age of 23 years and 8 months.